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SECONDARY PREDICATES IN ITALIAN AND ENGLISH *

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The goal of this paper will be to cast some light on the nature of secondary predicates by using a comparative approach.I will try to give an account for distributional properties and extraction facts, and I will try to find an explanation for the fact that resultatives are not allowed in Romance, on the basis of Italian evidence.Secondary predicates are usually grouped into two main categories: depictives and resultatives.

I will argue that this semantic distinction is mapped onto different syntactic structures.

Examples of subject-oriented depictives are in (1) : clearly, both Italian and English allow them.

(1) a.He died young (=1d)
b.The moon shines bright (=1e)
c.John eats the meat naked (=1f)
d.Mori' giovane
e.La luna splende chiara
f.Gianni mangia la carne cruda

The same is true for object-oriented depictives:

(2)a.John left the room empty (=2d)
b.John eats the meat raw (=2c)
c.Gianni mangia la carne cruda
d.Gianni lascia la stanza vuota

while examples in (3) shows that only English allows secondary predicates with a resultative meaning.

(3)a. The door banged shut (=4a)
b. John hammered the metal flat (=4b)
c. John drunk himself silly (=4c)

(4)a.* La porta ha sbattuto chiusa
b.* G. ha martellato il metallo piatto
c.* Gianni si e' bevuto stupido

In analysing the semantic restrictions that apply to secondary predicates we find that

depictive secondary predicates, which are usually called "free" predicates, appear not to be selected by the main verb: there is essentially no semantic relation between the main verb and the secondary predicate.

Resultatives on the other hand are more restricted, they appear to be selected by the main verb, as it is shown by the fact that in Icelandic for example the resultative predicate incorporates into the verb.(The example is due to Rothstein 1983 and we follow here the suggestions on incorporation phenomena in Baker 1987,who takes incorporation to be a result of selection).

(5) Eg hvit-þroði fötin
'I white-washed the clothes'
I washed the clothes till they were white

Resultatives moreover, seem to be sensitive to affectedness.Only those verbs that are affecting can take resultative complements. Although more and more linguists agree on the syntactic relevance of the notion of affectedness, the definition is in some sense still operative, estensional : those verbs that modify the intrinsic nature of the object or denote a change of location or a change in the point of view of the perceiver are affecting. (I follow here the definition of M.Anderson 1979 and Zubizarretta 1987).
Since the basic meaning of resultatives is closely tied to change of state, it is not surprising that it is also tied to the notion of affectedness as defined above.
We can in fact test the relevance of this notion. It has been argued that only those verbs that are affecting can appear in middle constructions, and they are indeed the same verbs that occurr in resultatives.
It has also been noticed that those psych-verbs whose object bears the theta role THEME are not affecting verbs,(for example by Rizzi 1986) and they do not appear in middle constructions.These two cases are shown in (6).

(6) a. Glasses smash easily
b.* Thunderstorms fear easily

The paradigm in (7) presents further evidence in favour of the relevance of the notion of affectedness for resultative constructions.

Those psych-verbs whose theta grid is EXPERIENCER V THEME,such as fear do not bear a secondary predicate, while those verbs whose syntactic object is an EXPERIENCER,such as frighten, do allow resultatives.

(7)a. They were frightened almost silly
b.* John fears the director almost silly
c.* John fears the students out of their wits
d.* John fears the students out of his wits
e. They frightened themselves almost silly
f.* They feared themselves almost silly

As far as syntactic restrictions are concerned we find that both depictives and resultatives obey a c-command restriction. This is valid both in Italian and in English. Therefore the NP which is being predicated of cannot be embedded in a PP.

(8) a.* John gave the book to Mary drunk (=8b)
b.* Gianni ha dato il libro a Maria ubriaca

Resultatives impose a further structural constraint, they cannot be predicated of a subject which is such at deep structure,i.e. they cannot refer to an [NP,IP], as can be seen in (9), which is excluded with the interpretation that "John got tired as a consequence of hammering the metal".

(9) * John hammered the metal tired

Following suggestions by Demonte 1985 for Spanish, we can show that the distributional properties of these predicates in Italian and English suggest that object-oriented predicates require contiguity and only phrases that belong to the theta grid(in the sense of Stowell 1981) of the verb can intervene.

Subject-oriented predicates on the other hand do not require contiguity and they are preferably located at the end of the sentence.

(10)a.? John gave the coffee to Peter hot (=11a)
b.* John gave the coffee on the balcony hot (=11b)
c.? John put the bike in the garage broken (11c)

(11)a. Fabio da' il caffe' a Claudio caldo
b. * Fabio offre il caffe' sul terrazzo caldo
c. ? Gianni ha messo la macchina in garage rotta

(12)a. Anna torno' a casa ieri sera preoccupatissima (=12b)
b. John came home last night very angry

As far as cooccurrence is concerned, judgements are controversial. Generalizing, object-oriented and subject-oriented predicates can cooccurr,and their linear order is strictly limited to object-oriented first and subject-oriented second, while the cooccurrence of object-oriented predicates is subject to dialectal variation.All speakers however agree in saying that when resultatives and depictives cooccurr, resultatives must occupy the position nearer to the verb.

(13)a. John served the meat overcooked angry
b. John hammered the metal flat happy
c. Dario ha servito la carne troppo cotta arrabbiato (=13a)

(14)a. John hammered the metal flat hot / *hot flat
b.?? John eats the meat raw,tender
c. * John washed the clothes clean white
d. * Gianni mangia la carne cruda tenera (=14b)

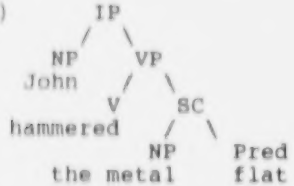
From what has been presented so far we can draw the conclusion that to account for this syntactic distribution and these restrictions we must posit a structure where resultatives are strictly connected to the object of the matrix clause, while object/subject -oriented depictives are in a somewhat looser relation to the matrix verb.

Since resultatives, differently from depictives, seem to be selected by the main verb, we could then think to account for the behaviour of secondary predicates by the adjunct/complement opposition. It has been shown by Kayne 1985 that resultatives behave as if they were in a small clause, one of the tests being in (15), nominalization, where you can see that the result is ungrammatical.

(15) * The hammering of the metal flat took a few hours

Therefore, we could start to think, as a first approximation, that resultative predicates form a small clause with the surface object of the main verb, which is in complement position, as shown in 16.

(16)



Note that the structure in (16) would derive the facts observed in (9) straightforwardly, supporting a structural approach to predication relations, which is in fact in the spirit of the notion of small clause.(For a different approach see Williams 1980,1983).

Depictive predicates, on the other hand, are in adjunct position, and they are probably contained in a small clause with a PRO subject, which is the usual representation for secondary predicates. (cf. among others Hornstein and Lightfoot 1987)

(17)a. John [$_{VP}$[$_{V'}$ ate the meat] [PRO raw]]

b. John [$_{V}$P[$_{VP}$ ate the meat] [PRO naked]]

The typical tests that apply to VP constituents show that both in Italian and in English secondary depictive predicates are crucially attached under VP.(cf.Andrews 1982) Examples 18-21 show that secondary predicates are inside the VP. VP preposing in 22 shows that the same is true in Italian too.

(18) a. I found John alive so you couln't have done so
b. The doctor declared him dead after the coroner had done so

(19) John said he would eat the carrots raw/naked and eat he carrots raw/naked he did

(20) Eat the meat nude/raw though John did, nobody thought he was crazy

(21) What John did was eat the meat nude/raw

(22)a. Mangiata cruda Gianni certo non l'ha
'He certainly did not eat it raw'
b.? Mangiata nudo Gianni certo non l'ha
'He certainly did not eat it naked

We would support the claim that 16 is the correct structure for Italian too by clitic extraction.
Rizzi 1982 and Belletti-Rizzi 1981 argue that clitics in Italian can only move from argument position: lo needs to be able to move from argument position to be able to reanalyse with the verb and form a bigger governing category where the trace can be bound, ne cannot move from adjunct position but only from deep structure object position. (see also Burzio 1981). We can formulate that as a complement vs non complement distinction: only clitics that belong to a complement of the verb can be extracted. The contrasting judgements in 23-24 and 25-26 show that depictive predicates are in adjunct position. These two sets of examples tell us that secondary predicates conform to the standard hypothesis for adjuncts and complements of a verb: extraction from complements is possible because complements are theta governed by the verb therefore they are properly governed while extraction from adjuncts, that are not theta governed therefore not properly governed in their base generated position, violates the CED as stated in Huang 1982 and ultimately the ECP as stated in Chomsky 1986.

(23)a. Tutti credevano[$_{SC}$ Piero affezionato a Maria]
b.Tutti le$_i$ credevano[Piero affezionato e$_i$]

'Everybody thought P. was in love with Mary'

(24)a. Abbiamo lasciato Maria[ancora affezionata a Piero]
b. *Gli$_i$ abbiamo lasciato Maria [ancora affezionata e$_i$]
'We left Mary still in love with him'

(25)a. Gianni sembra innamorato di lei
"G seems in love with her'
b. Gianni ne$_i$ sembra innamorato e$_i$

(26)a. Ho incontrato Paolo innamorato di quella ragazza
'I met Paul in love with that girl'
b. * Ne$_i$ ho incontrato Paolo innamorato e$_i$

Since the previous examples show that Italian allows complement small clauses, such as those required by epistemic verbs in (23), and since we have assumed previously, following Kayne 1985 that resultatives are complement small clauses, then we must find independent reasons to explain why resultatives are disallowed in Italian and more generally in Romance.

Following a proposal by Kayne 1984, I would like to argue that this cross-linguistic difference is due to the interaction between an empty prepositional complementizer in the COMP position of the small clause and the fact that Prepositions are not structural governors in Italian.
The structure I would like to propose is shown in (27).

(27) John hammered[$_{CP}$ P$_e$ [$_{IP}$ the metal flat]]

Briefly the argument would go as follows:we observe that Preposition Stranding, Double Object Constructions and Exceptional Case Marking do not exist in Romance while they are fairly productive in English.

(28)a. Who did you talk about ? (=28b)
b.*Chi hai parlato su?

(29)a. John gave Mary a book (=29b)
b.*Gianni ha dato Maria un libro

(30)a. I believe John to be honest (=30)
b.*Ritengo Gianni essere onesto

It has been proposed by Hornstein and Weinberg 1981 to account for Preposition Stranding by a reanalysis mechanism by saying that the verb and the preposition reanalyse; Kayne 1984 proposes to constraint reanalysis by allowing it only between categories that govern in the same way.
By assuming that prepositions are structural governors in English but not in Romance we would explain why they can reanalyse with verbs, that are structural governors, in English but not in Romance. This derives a fairly important distinction in the status of Prepositions.

Secondly, we need support from other areas to claim that there is an empty prepositional complementizer in the COMP of the small clause. We moreover need evidence to support the kind of behaviour we think this COMP must have. The area of ECM provides us with both: it has already been proposed to account for ECM not as a phenomenon of S'-deletion but rather as a phenomenon in which different ways of governing and transmitting Case are a stake.(cf.Kayne 1984)
Goverment is blocked in Romance because empty or even lexically realized infinitival complementizers are not able to govern the subject position of the embedded clause.

(31)a. * Ritengo di Gianni essere intelligente
'I consider di John to be intelligent'
b. Ritengo di PRO essere stato chiaro
I-consider di PRO to have been clear
'I believe to have made myself clear'

This account would apply straightforwardly if resultatives were assigned the structure in (27).This kind of structure would be licit in English were the small clause's COMP would reanalyse with the verb, thus being able to assign Case to the small clause's subject, and this would assimilate to ECM, or it could also be the proper governor of a trace,in which case we would have subject-to-subject raising, cf (32a). In Italian neither of these two cases would be licit because of lack of Reanalysis.

By using a reanalysis account, therefore creating a monoclausal structure from a biclausal structure, we can also explain the use of overt anaphors in resultatives.

If resultatives are complement small clauses that reanalyse with the main verb in English, then the subject of the main clause and the subject of the root clause could be coreferent in only two cases : if the two subjects are coreferent because of an antecedent trace relation or if the small clause subject is an overt anaphor.The case in which the subject of the small clause is a pronominal anaphor is directly ruled out by the PRO theorem.These predictions appear to obtain.

(32)a. The ice$_i$ froze [e$_i$ solid]
b. John$_i$ drank [himself$_i$ silly]
c.*John$_i$ drank [PRO$_i$ silly]

Note that even if we allow governed PRO and explain its distribution by Case theory, (32c) would still be ruled out because in this structure PRO would receive Case.

This approach would have the advantage of reducing this difference to a much wider area of asymmetry between English and Romance, therefore it is not a costly explanation. Moreover, since it exploits the mechanism of reanalysis, which is very likely to be part of the marked portion of UG, it also makes the prediction, which is in fact born out, that resultatives, like Preposition Stranding for example, would be fully productive only in a restricted number of languages.

FOOTNOTES

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